

California - 10th District

10 Don Edwards (D)

Of San Jose — Elected 1962

Born: Jan. 6, 1915, San Jose, Calif.
Education: Stanford U., A.B. 1936, Stanford Law School, 1937-38.
Military Career: Navy, 1942-45.
Occupation: Title company executive, lawyer, FBI agent.
Family: Wife, Edith Wilke; five children.
Religion: Unitarian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2307 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3072.



In Washington: The self-doubt that has afflicted House liberals in recent years has stopped somewhere short of Edwards, whose belief in social change has all the gentle passion it had 20 years ago. With him, there is no hesitation, no retrenchment. "We're absolutely right, you know," he says quietly.

For Edwards, liberalism means civil rights and civil liberties — for blacks, Mexican-Americans, women, children and dissenters of all kinds. He is a liberal first and a Democrat second. He has never minded opposing his party's congressional leadership or its president on what he considers a moral issue, such as Vietnam. But he has fought with a soft voice and a bemused tolerance, reflecting a feeling that even those he sees as unenlightened are not beyond persuasion.

In the closing hours of the 97th Congress, Edwards' civil rights connection placed him at the center of the movement to prevent a major immigration bill from becoming law. That bill provided amnesty for illegal aliens already in this country, but it would have punished employers who hired those arriving later.

The employer sanctions were offensive not only to Edwards' Hispanic constituency but to the national civil rights groups he has worked with over the years. Edwards sat alongside California Democrat Edward J. Roybal, chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, helping to plot a strategy that eventually killed the bill by delay.

Earlier in the Congress, Edwards labored for extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, moving the bill through his Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee and using the civil rights community effectively.

The main disputes were over "pre-clearance" — the requirement that Southern states submit election law changes to the Justice

Department — and over demands of those states that they be able to "bail out" of the law's strictures following a period of good behavior. Edwards was unable to achieve a bipartisan consensus on those issues within his subcommittee, but he managed to get the issue to the full committee, where the bill was eventually reported out 23-1.

When Edwards failed to reach agreement with Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, the leading GOP spokesman on voting rights, he changed tactics and worked with other Republicans, especially Hamilton Fish Jr. of New York. Hyde was annoyed, but he ended up supporting the legislation as it cleared the floor easily. Eventually, it became law in a form Edwards and his civil rights allies approved.

Edwards generally uses the Constitutional and Civil Rights panel more to block legislation than to enact it. He has stalled some of the most sensitive legislation of the day — constitutional amendments to ban abortions and busing and permit school prayer.

To make sure those initiatives do not emerge from his panel, Edwards has personally recruited subcommittee members who would not disturb the majority sympathetic to his liberal point of view. Anti-abortion lobbyists essentially have given up hope for any action from the subcommittee. "There's not much point in arguing with Don Edwards," one said in 1982.

Edwards can be forced to act only through a petition signed by at least half the House membership. That has happened only once in recent years, on the busing issue. None of the other conservative proposals has ever emerged from the Edwards legislative mortuary.

Occasionally, under pressure from conservatives, Edwards has scheduled hearings on various proposals, but never any committee

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Sitting at the southeastern end of the San Francisco Bay area, the 10th is split between Alameda and Santa Clara counties. Of the four East Bay districts it is the most solidly blue collar. Unlike the 7th and 9th, it does not reach eastward into the hills, where Republican voting strength is growing. As a result, the 10th is a few degrees more Democratic than the others. Its voters backed Ronald Reagan in 1980 by a slim margin, but they have shown few other signs of Republican flirtation.

The Alameda County part of the district, accounting for slightly more than a third of the district's population, is centered on Fremont. An industrial city of 132,000 people, Fremont is known as the Detroit of the West Coast. General Motors has a large assembly plant here, and Ford and Peterbilt trucks are made in nearby Milpitas and Newark.

The Santa Clara part of the district revolves around San Jose, the state's fourth largest city. About a third of San Jose is included in the 10th. Although the district line through San Jose was moved slightly in redistricting, the 10th retains roughly the

Southeast Bay Area — San Jose, Fremont

same proportion of the city that has been in the district since 1974. With a growing influx of Hispanic-Americans, more than a quarter of the new district's population is of Hispanic origin.

Although registered Democrats overwhelm Republicans in both the Alameda County and Santa Clara County portions of the district, there are differences in outlook. The Fremont voters are considerably more conservative than those living in San Jose. Reagan's slim victory in the district was a result of his 54-33 percent edge over Jimmy Carter in Fremont, where Carter's weak showing — 10 points below George McGovern's 1972 vote — reflected the changing political values of the blue-collar voters of the area.

Population: 527,278. White 356,884 (68%). Black 29,637 (6%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 4,856 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 51,861 (10%). Spanish origin 147,394 (28%). 18 and over 361,394 (69%). 65 and over 33,171 (6%). Median age: 27.

votes. When criticized for his intransigence, Edwards is unmoved. "Every member should use the rules any way he can," he has said.

Given this record, Edwards surprised many of his colleagues in 1982 by complaining when Speaker O'Neill moved to require a two-thirds majority to force measures out of committee by petition. Edwards defended such petitions as a "tool of the little guy," regardless of whether he agreed with the individual proposals. In 1971 he had had to pry the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) out of a Judiciary Committee dominated by the intransigent Emanuel Celler of New York. Edwards was concerned that the ERA might need procedural help again someday.

In 1979, when Ohio Democrat Ronald Mottl forced a floor vote on his anti-busing constitutional amendment, Edwards coordinated the opposition and defeated Mottl decisively. The anti-busing amendment got 207 votes, not only far short of the two-thirds it needed for passage but short of a simple majority. The result embarrassed anti-busing forces and left Edwards glad the issue had come up

the way it had.

The following year, Edwards managed an intricate fair housing bill in committee and on the floor, finally getting it passed largely intact after approval of a crucial amendment by one vote. The bill, described by President Carter as the most important civil rights legislation of the decade, was drafted to give the 1968 open housing law new enforcement language. It allowed the Justice Department to seek penalties against alleged violators, rather than having to wait for private lawsuits, as in the original act.

Edwards kept the bill alive on the floor by agreeing to shift enforcement from HUD to the Justice Department, which numerous members said would give the accused more legal rights. That change was made on a 205-204 vote, with House leaders switching the decisive vote in the final seconds. But the bill itself fell victim to a Senate filibuster and did not become law.

When he has not been promoting civil rights bills or blocking conservative change, Edwards has been watching the FBI, for which he once worked as an agent, trying to get it out of the domestic surveillance business. His sub-

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committee spent some of the 96th Congress working on a new FBI charter, spelling out its duties and limits, but the measure never cleared committee.

Edwards was furious when the FBI's Abscam corruption probe resulted in indictments of seven members of Congress. He questioned whether they had committed a crime or been entrapped. His subcommittee conducted a yearlong investigation into FBI undercover operations, trying, as Edwards explained, to determine the "proper limits" of such tactics. Edwards thinks there should be strict limits.

At Home: Stories about Edwards inevitably emphasize his FBI background, citing it as rather unusual preparation for a career as a civil libertarian. Actually, Edwards was not only an FBI agent as a young man — he was a Republican. He did not join the Democratic Party until he was 35, and on his way to a fortune as owner of the Valley Title Insurance Company in San Jose.

Wealth only seemed to make Edwards more liberal. He said he gave up on Republicans because they did not seem interested in the international agreements needed to preserve peace.

At the time, Edwards was beginning his long journey into activism. He joined the United World Federalists, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). He was national ADA chairman in 1965 and still speaks at the group's annual meetings.

Most people in Edwards' district seem to care little about the causes that have preoccupied him all his life. What matters to them is that he is a friendly, open man whose staff takes care of their problems. With that combination, Edwards has been able to overcome a long string of challengers, candidates who have questioned his patriotism and warned voters he is too liberal for them.

Edwards had never sought any office before 1962, devoting most of his time to his business. But when a new district was drawn that year to include part of his home city of San Jose, Edwards decided to run.

His two major opponents for the Democratic nomination both had more political experience, but less personal charm. They fought bitterly with each other and Edwards won the Democratic primary by 726 votes, edging Fremont Mayor John Stevenson. It was an overwhelmingly Democratic district, and Edwards easily won in the fall.

Edwards' outspoken support for Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign, and early reports of his possible retirement, gave him a difficult time in 1968. He faced two Santa Clara city councilmen, one in the Democratic primary and one in the general election. But Edwards still won both elections comfortably.

He has had no trouble since then. In 1982, Republican candidate Bob Herriott, an airline pilot from his party's conservative wing, received a substantial amount of funding from GOP sources, but was able to make no dent in Edwards' standing.

Committees

Judiciary (4th of 20 Democrats)
Civil and Constitutional Rights (chairman); Criminal Justice; Monopolies and Commercial Law.

Veterans' Affairs (2nd of 21 Democrats)
Oversight and Investigations.

Elections**1982 General**

Don Edwards (D)	77,263	(63%)
Bob Herriott (R)	41,506	(34%)

1980 General

Don Edwards (D)	102,231	(62%)
John Lutton (R)	45,987	(30%)
Joseph Fuhrig (Lib)	11,904	(7%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (67%) 1976 (72%)
1974 (77%) 1972 (72%) 1970 (69%) 1968 (57%)
1966 (63%) 1964 (70%) 1962 (66%)

District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	57,207 (42%)	D	74,784 (59%)
R	61,657 (45%)	R	50,300 (40%)
I	14,832 (11%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Edwards (D)	\$162,867	\$69,520 (43%)	\$144,946
Herriott (R)	\$131,050	\$4,975 (4%)	\$135,244

1980

Edwards (D)	\$29,406	\$8,850 (30%)	\$29,151
Lutton (R)	\$2,491	\$350 (14%)	\$1,542

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	27	68	93	4	7	93
1981	29	63	88	5	3	95
1980	69	22	91	4	2	91
1979	76	17	83	5	2	90
1978	79	14	88	6	4	88
1977	82	16	92	5	3	95
1976	20	78	94	3	5	91
1975	30	65	95	3†	2	95†
1974 (Ford)	37	56				

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1974	40	57	91	51	2	97†
1973	21	70	86	4	3	88
1972	49	49	82	6	2	90
1971	26	72	86	9	3	93
1970	51	38	63	14	-	68
1969	23	38	62	9	7	69
1968	68	9	68	5	2	82
1967	73	12	79	4	2	81
1966	78	7	78	3	0	89
1965	83	4	87	1	0	94
1964	90	4	92	2	0	92
1963	89	4	91	0	0	80

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y

Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUs
1982	100	13	95	9
1981	95	9	93	12
1980	100	17	89	63
1979	95	0	95	6
1978	80	4	84	22
1977	95	12	78	12
1976	95	0	87	14
1975	100	0	96	6
1974	100	0	100	0
1973	100	12	100	0
1972	100	9	100	10
1971	95	4	92	-
1970	88	12	100	11
1969	100	17	100	-
1968	100	5	100	-
1967	93	0	100	10
1966	100	9	92	-
1965	100	0	-	10
1964	100	0	100	-
1963	-	0	-	-